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123 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, é, é." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

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609 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavani, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampané" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, [533] [531] [522] [536] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

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726 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

- 536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them [535] faced the back of the man in front while others were turned toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

- This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which [141] is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

- The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1 [i.e., the Kayapó. - Analyst]